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ABSTRACT

The objectives of this study were to examine a body of data collected by five graduate students at the University of Texas at San Antonio and to determine, after a careful analysis of the transcribed utterances, whether all instances of language alternations can be truly considered code-switching strategies and whether those that can be so considered exhibit identifiable linguistic patterns and allow psychologically and sociologically sound interpretations. The emphasis in this paper has been placed on the psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives of the code-switching phenomenon. The data seem to lend support to the assumption that in fact not all language alternations can be considered "code-switching strategies" proper if we distinguish between utterances containing relexification and others containing sentence constituents from two languages. The former are referred to as "semi-codeswitching" and the latter, true code-switching. The analysis of the examples of true code-switching have yielded some initial evidence that code-switching obeys certain rules of co-occurrence based upon the rules of grammar of the two languages involved in the sense that the code-switching is blocked if it requires the violation of a grammatical rule of either language. As far as linguistic performance is concerned, a total of eleven variables have been identified which seem to act as triggering forces favoring the language alternation. (Author/CFM)

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THE SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF INTRA-SENTENTIAL CODE-SWITCHING

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The Social Implications of Intra-Sentential Code-Switching

0. Introduction

The language behavior of the bilingual draws, by definition, on the resources of two rather than a single language. Although the relative proficiency in each language is not at issue here, the fact that a speaker possesses the ability to communicate in one as well as in the other language makes him different from other speakers in a very specific way. He copes with the whole universe of experience through two language media and he is never quite sure which one he employed at a given moment. It is therefore no small wonder that he not only switches from one to the other language as he moves from situation to situation but he at times does so within the same situation and even within the same sentence. Hence, it is not unusual to hear a person say, e.g.,

(1a) I lose my temper porque a mí me da mucho coraje, me da mucho coraje

rather than saying

(1b) I lose my temper because it makes me so furious, so furious

or

(1c) Me enfurezco porque a mí me da mucho coraje, me da mucho coraje

Code-switching of this sort is usually condemned by the monolingual and disavowed by its user himself, although it can easily be

shown -- at least in regard to the preceding example -- that "I lose my temper" is more expressive than "me enfurezco" and "it makes me so furious, so furious" does not have the power of expression of "a mí me da mucho coraje, me da mucho coraje". Then, why not use both languages to achieve better results. Whether or not we favor this kind of linguistic behavior is probably a matter of personal bias but, regardless of how we feel about it, the phenomenon should be researched carefully, since it represents the linguistic behavior of several important groups in our society. Unfortunately, surprisingly little has been investigated and written on the language mixing in bilingual societies and even less on Spanish-English code-switching. Argues Edna Acosta-Belén that

> there are viturally no studies that define the parameters of "Spanglish," a so-called dialect that is generally described as a particular mixture of Spanish and English and which is presumably used by Spanish-speaking communities in the United States...There is a widespread negative attitude towards its use, which creates feelings of inferiority and alienation for those who allegedly use it. (Burt and Dulay, Eds, 1975:151)

Guadalupe Valdés-Fallis, on the other hand, refers to two such studies (Gingras, 1973 and Lance, 1974) but agrees that

> at this point there are no definite answers concerning the exact nature of code-switching as it exists in specific Mexican-American communities and many questions are still unanswered. (Harvey and Heiser, eds., 1975:143)

It is therefore imperative that researchers in the Southwest begin to address themselves to this aspect of bilingual behavior

and attempt to determine what the status of code-switching is and, particularly, which hidden cues may be triggering the surfacing of one or the other language. It is the objective of the present paper to explore some of the facets of code-switching and to suggest interpretations that appear linguistically, sociologically and psychologically sound. These interpretations have resulted from the analysis of a set of data gathered in San Antonio by several students of the University of Texas at San Antonio, who are participating in a research project on this very topic (see pp. 20-22, below).

1. Some Theoretical Considerations

Terms like Tex-Mex, Pocho, Pachuco, Spanglish and other similar terms have been used indiscriminately to refer to the fact that some speakers of English and Spanish use the resources of both languages when they wish to communicate to one another, -- especially in informal situations. In the professional literature the term code-switching has been used in this context but most sociolinguistic investigators are aware of the fact that not all instances of language mixing can be considered code-switching in the true sense of word. Lexical borrowings from the other language, regardless of whether or not they are phonologically or morphologically integrated into the receiving language, do not normally reflect code-switching practices. Consider the following statement:

(2) Te acuerdas de la word? (Cl. 4.6)

(3) Terminé el first semester del twelfth grade... (Cl.5.4-5)

(4) ...Y van a comer blanquillos, cookies y orange. (CL.8.9-10)

(5) ...Y pos lo mixtea... (CL- 9.12)

There is no intent here to alternate between two codes; the English words[1] or phrases merely lend themselves better to convey the speaker's message as he does not seem to have available the right Spanish word at the moment. There is even less code alternation involved when the speaker shows first language interference in pronouncing or constructing sentences in a second language. True code-switching, on the other hand, occurs when the bilingual alternates between sentences, e.g.

(6) I don't need to be called anything else. Ahora, ser americana no me ha quitado sino que me ha agregado mucho mas... (FM-9. 17-19)

or when he switches to his second language within the same sentence, e.g.

(7) for example you are the first maestro que tenga cargado [!] y mira a sus niños and salen todos por allí - entonces they have a little bit of order,... (WR-2. 34-35)

It is mainly this latter kind of alternation that the writer intends to examine in the present paper and analyze it in terms of its relationship to various linguistic and sociolinguistic criteria.

The distinction between competence and performance, suggested by Noam Chomsky in the mid-fifties, is by now a familiar notion and has been accepted by most language researchers. The use of the two terms

is also appropriate in this context if we could assume -- at least for the purpose of this investigation -- that utterances containing elements from two languages follow specific patterns of co-occurrance and constraints and display therefore the same rule-governed behavior that we normally associate with a uni-language code. Studies along these lines are almost non-existent and Rosario Gingras' paper entitled "Problems in the Description of Spanish-English intrasentential Code-switching" is one of the very few attempts to examine the code-switching practices of Mexican-American bilinguals from a linguistic viewpoint. Argues Gingras that

> some sentences...have an overwhelming degree of acceptability in comparison to some other sentences...which are sentences that seem to have random ordering of linguistic codes... (G.Bills, ed., 1974:172)

(8a) The man que vino ayer wants to buy un carro nuevo

and

(8b) El man que came ayer wants John comprar a car nuevo

which were recorded by ~~her~~ him and played back to a group of Mexican-American and Anglo bilingual informants "to see if acceptability judgements could be elicited for sentences containing examples of code-switching..." (G Bills, ed., 1974:170) The very tentative conclusion that ~~she~~ he reaches in ~~her~~ his paper suggests that there is indeed a linguistic competence of code-switching, since bilinguals intuitively accept or reject different instances of language

alternations. A code-switching grammar could accordingly be designed to determine which mixed sentences are and which are not acceptable.

Early transformationalists proposed a distinction between a matrix and a constituent sentence to account for the embedding of one clause within another, viz.,

(9a) The man saw a car on the road (Matrix)

(9b) The man wore a sweater (Constituent S)

(9c) The man who wore a sweater saw a car on the road (Embedded S)

or

(10a) The man wore a sweater (Matrix)

(10b) The man saw a car on the road (Constituent S)

(10c) The man who saw a car on the road wore a sweater (Embedded S)

Sentences with constituents from two languages could be described in a similar fashion by having one language, either one, provide the matrix and the other, the constituent string, e.g.

(11a) The man wants to buy a car (Matrix)

(11b) El hombre vino ayer. (Constituent S)

(11c) The man que vino ayer wants to buy a car (Embedded S & Matrix)

(11d) El carro es nuevo (Constituent S)

(11e) The man que vino ayer wants to buy un carro que es nuevo. (Embedded S_1)

(11f) The man que vino ayer wants to buy un carro nuevo (Embedded S_2)

or

(12a) El hombre quiere comprar un carro. (Matrix)

(12b) The man came yesterday. (Constituent S)

(12c) El hombre who came yesterday quiere comprar un carro (Embedded S_2)

(12d) The car is new. (Constituent S)

(12e) El hombre who came yesterday quiere comprar a car that is new (Embedded S_1)

(12f) *El hombre who came yesterday quiere comprar a car new. (Embedded S_2)

(12g) El hombre who came yesterday quiere comprar a new car (Embedded S_3)

Either embedding process seems to be valid as long as words that are constituents in one language can freely be substituted by the corresponding words that are the constituents in the other language.

An examination of the data collected in this project reveals that the switching does not necessarily occur at clause level alone. As a matter of fact, phrases, words and other constituents can be alternated as well. Consider,

(13) NP I am going to do it because of ...sabrosura del change. (FM-5.7)

(14) VP Este group se levanta (n), await, va, that way you have an organization going through and they have a system. (R-2.19)

(15) VP Al fin me hizo caso a mí y a tu madre y se, you know, dress' - up a little bit, siquiera un poquito...(EC-9.7)

(16) Adv. Phr. (Man) Because I consider it muy sabroso. (FM-5.4)

(17) Adv. Phr. (loc) It was the day you went al parque (WR-1.8)

(18) Marker Phase I bless home, lo que sea (FM - 2.2)

(19) Marker Phase ...but even dad brings in some words y todo. (FM-7.21)

(20) Conj. Pero in the case of X, Canales, I'm proud of X... (EC-12.16)

(21) Conj. And I'll tell you another thing que I'd shoot anybody that comes in my house. (FM-1.17)

(22) Conj. Y and then she told me one time that she caught herself doing it because it was so much easier sometimes... (FM-5.17)

(23) S Mod Entonces, now that to me is kind of... (FM-7.19)

Alternations at the phrase level occur mainly when noun phrases (13) and adverbial phrases (16,17) are objects of the switching. Verb phrase switching is rarer but does also occur (14,15). Especially interesting is item (15) of our recordings where the verb phrase contains a Spanish (the reflexive se) and an English element (the past tense form dress'-up). Observe that only the Spanish verb is reflexive (se vistió) suggesting that the speaker's frame of mind was Spanish-oriented regardless of the English relexification. Other instances of phrase level switchings are of the type that Hernández-Chavez calls ethnic markers and are illustrated in sentences (18) and (19). Alternations at the word level, when these are not lexical borrowings are more often than not conjunctions. The data include some examples of the coordinate conjunctions pero (20) and Y (22) and to a lesser extent also the subordinate que (21). The sentence modifier entonces (23), which also occurred presents another instance of a single word code-switching.

The above is obviously not intended to be a formal nor a full linguistic analysis of co-occurrences and constraints but rather an attempt to include a few scattered thoughts on the linguistic nature of some alternations observed in the data. To summarize, the co-

occurrence of elements from two languages seems to be favored when entire phrases or clauses are unilingual. Conjunctions, on the other hand, are often conceived of as independent constituents and can occur in one language while the remainder of the clause occurs in the other. All this suggests that constraints do exist but mainly when the constituent structure is broken down to units below the phrase level. The one instance where no such blocking occurred (se dress'-up) may well have been the result of a slip of the tongue, since the bilingual informants whom we consulted indicated that they would not normally use this construction. Work along these lines is imperative and a more vigorous analysis of code-switching data should help us identify co-occurrence and constraints of what seems to emerge as a social variety used in certain situations by Spanish and English speaking bilinguals in southwestern United States.

Recent developments in psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic studies have alerted us to go beyond the mere analysis of the code and to investigate aspects of linguistic performance, since inner and outer factors both influence the actual outcome of speech. From a psycholinguistic point of view, code-switching practices bear a certain relationship to three areas, i.e., (1) the acquisition of a second language and the type of bilinguality achieved, (2) the encoding and decoding strategies of code-switching bilinguals and, finally, (3) the attitudinal patterns toward the switching regardless

of whether or not the bilinguals actually engage in it.

It has been argued that the acquisition of a second language and the type of bilinguality achieved are closely related to one another. The scholars who study second language acquisitional patterns have stressed, again and again, that we should distinguish the compound from the coordinate bilingual on the basis of the fact that the former has learned the second language in his home and the latter in an environment other than his immediate surroundings. As for the code-switching tendencies of bilinguals, the evidence seems to point to the fact that the code-switching is favored by compound bilinguals and objected to or, at best, only reluctantly implemented by coordinates. Gingras, seems to refer to the compound-coordinate distinction when she argues that

> ...judgments on code-switching are influenced by the time of acquisition of the second language: before or after onset of puberty. The Chicano informants all began speaking English by the time they entered the first grade; on the other hand, the nonchicano informants all acquired their second language as-adults. This implies that judgments on code-switching and the actual use thereof are a function not so much of the fact that a person is bilingual, but rather a function of when he became a bilingual. (G. Bills, 1974;171)

All this lends credit to Barker's notion that "where two languages are involved, the functions formerly performed by one language come to be divided by two or more..." (Hernández-Chavez, ed., 1975:171), although, in the case of the compound bilingual, rather than undergoing a division of functions, he experiences the coalescence of functions regardless of the language employed. In other

words, the compound bilingual functions through the medium of two languages just as the monolingual does it through the medium of the only language that he knows. The bilingual's encoding and decoding processes must obviously be based on the understanding how a truly bilingual community functions. I differ here from the view of other scholars who consider the coordinate bilingual the true bilingual since neither type impresses me as more truly bilingual than the other. By relating the bilingual's interpersonal relations with the variations in his linguistic behavior, Barker suggests that the fields of familial/intimate and of Anglo/Mexican-Amerian relations

> may be represented as a kind of continuum, at one end of which are the intimate relations with others of Mexican descent, while at the other end are the purely formal relations with Anglos. In between are formal and informal relations with people of Mexican descent outside the family circle, and in some cases with Mexicans from Mexico. Paralleling the above described continuum in fields of interpersonal relations is a continuum in language usage, and we find that the categories of interpersonal relations are reflected by corresponding variations in linguistic behavior. At one end of this linguistic continuum Spanish is dominant in the individual's contacts and at the other end English is dominant. In between are the pochismos, the Pachuco dialect, and the various mixtures of the two languages. (Hernández-Chavez, 1975:178)

Depending upon the type of bilinguality that speakers have acquired, they will tend to either bring together (compound) or keep separate (coordinate) the two extremes of the spectrum and I cannot think of one or the other approach as being the better one.

I have recently suggested a similar continuum (Jacobson, forthcoming) but focused there more specifically on the individual member rather than the community's total range of verbal repertoires. Obviously, the same individual is not expected to shift from Spanish dominance to Pocho to Pachuco to Tex-Mex and further on to English dominance but he will combine different ways of speaking and alternate between such styles as the occasion may suggest to him. In addition, the bilingual who engages in code-switching may achieve the mixing of the two languages by means of two different strategies, his language structure may be basically Spanish but contain English constituents or it may be basically English with Spanish constituents, inserted into it, although I am not yet quite certain as to the extent to which a bilingual is aware of whether he has chosen the former or the latter to convey his message. Encoding and decoding is mainly a subconscious strategy and it is the message on which the speaker focuses rather than the medium -- or media -- in which he conveys it. Most bilinguals are usually unaware of the fact which language they have chosen to express their ideas but they will certainly remember what the message is that they have conveyed.

The research conducted by social psychologists in Canada and also in the U.S. has shown that monolinguals and bilinguals hold strong attitudes in regard to the speech varieties that they

use. This is even more true with respect to the mixing of two speech varieties. Says Edna Acosta-Belén that

> there is a widespread negative attitude towards its [Spanglish] use, which creates feelings of inferiority and alienation for those who allegedly use it. (Burt and Duley, eds., 1975:151)

This negative attitude, however, does not seem to exert any refraining force on the code-switching practices as long as these are performed in an informal, relaxed almost intimate atmosphere, usually only among members of the same ethnic group. Gumperz and Hernández-Chávez express this same view when they argue that

> in spite of the fact that such extreme code-switching is held in disrepute, it is very persistent, occurring whenever minority language groups come in close contact with majority language groups under conditions of rapid social change. (Hernández-Chávez, ed., 1975:155)

Not only the observer of such switching practices holds them in low esteem but so does the bilingual who himself engages in the mixing of the two languages to the extent that he either denies ever switching at all or refrains himself from it when he is observed or recorded. This is even the case when the observer is a member of the same ethnic group. A case in point is the comment of one of the fieldworkers in this project to the effect that it had been relatively easy for her, as a Mexican American and a peer of her informants, to witness code-switching practices but extremely difficult to record these on tape. "The informants were

code-switching continously when the recorder was turned off but when it was on, they would only speak a single language." (Viola Cavallini, personal conversation) Therefore interviews designed to collect data on language mixing must be conducted with even greater care than what Labov and his associates suggested (Giglioli, ed., 1972:179-215) because they represent a verbal behavior that is strongly prejudiced against by the majority.

In addition to the psycholinguistic concerns of this nature there are a number of sociolinguistic factors that all relate to the code-switching phenomenon. As a matter of fact, in the literature of the last decade, we find many references to issues that hold a strong relationship to the strategies of certain bilinguals to mix their two languages, not only as they move from topic to topic but also within the same topic. As a matter of fact, scholars have discussed in this context the social situation, the norms of interaction, domains, several issues concerning cultural heritage, ethnicity and acculturation and the problem of language choice. The social situation comprises (1) the interlocutors involved in the speech event, (2) the topic that is being talked about and (3) the intent with which the speakers are discussing the topic. Whether or not code-switching is appropriate may result from the appraisal of the situation because if the interlocutors are not those with whom the individual would engage in code-switching, if the topic is too formal for such a strategy and, finally, if the intent is not one of relaxed communication, no

mixing is likely to occur. All this points to the fact that in the bilingual community, as in any other community for that matter, there is a universally shared knowledge in regard to the manner by which its members interact with one another, that is, of their mutually shared interactional norms. Accordingly, the bilinguals' own linguistic behavior as well as their own assessment of that behavior has made it clear to us that bilinguals hold very firm views as to when they can and cannot code-switch. These views then, represent the set of norms which they follow at a given moment. In other words, there is a consensus as to where, on the bilingual continuum, they wish to function at a given moment. Their language performance, whichever they have decided on, hinges of course on their ability to be in proper command of their bilingual behavior. Assume that an individual recognizes that, in principle, a monolingual English interaction is called for but that his usual experience leads him to mix the two languages, then his monolingual attitude will merely be reflected by performing less bilingually; that is, he will code-switch less than he normally does. By the same token, if the same individual, under different circumstances, decides that a monolingual Spanish interaction would be appropriate, he may not be entirely successful in his exlusion of English but his speech will tend to be more Spanish dominant than it normally is.

In order for the bilingual to make a decision of this nature, he must possess a strong awareness for the congruency of a situation and thus be able to correlate a speaker's language variety with one of several social institutions. In the next context of home, peer-group,

school, church, employment one such variety is usually appropriate and the other is not. However, even these domains may still be too broad, since more than one variety may be appropriate in the context of some of these institutions, depending upon the specific circumstances that prevail. Thus, some situations, whatever domain they may be associated with, are handled by bilinguals better when the two languages are used in alternation than when they are not. Code-switching, then, assumes a function that is equivalent to that of any other regional or social variety and must be treated accordingly.

Three other notions, cultural heritage, ethnicity and acculturation, can also be viewed in terms of a continuum (see above), since all three are continually present in the minority person but their relative potency fluctuates forth and back depending on the social situation under consideration. All three are liable to produce reflexes in the speech of bilinguals, either by way of full statements or simple markers, e.g.,

(24) ...porque no me contaran como era. (FM-922-23)
(25) quien tiene el modismo [:] de haberse criado aquí le va [a] sacar la sabrosura de ... (FM-6.21-22)
(26) ...He started at...bueno...this year. (EC-12.17)
(27) Perdón, las llaves de Garcia para entrar...wow, ¿cuál es?...(WR-1.13)

In (24) the speaker switches to Spanish when she justifies her stay in Mexico where she wanted to experience on her own what the Mexican heritage was all about so that others would not have to tell her how it was. The switch to Spanish in (25) carries

the meaning of the beauty of one's ethnicity. The person who has been reared here, the speaker argues, appreciates the sabrosura, tastefulness, of "code-switching". Brief switches to Spanish like bueno, (EC 12.17) lo que sea, -- y todo, pos, ándale pues all seem to be ethnic markers, that is, verbal affirmations of Mexican-American ethnicity. However, bilinguals may also wish to affirm the opposite, i.e., the fact that they have acculturated to the host society. The Anglo interjection wow in (27) seems to accomplish just that. Thus, the code-switching bilingual moves forth and back on the continuum of bilinguality to express in words or phrases the extent to which his heritage, his ethnicity and his integration into the society at large vary during the speech performance.

The bilingual, far more than this may also be true for any monolingual speaker, is faced with a series of language-related decisions through which he reveals that he has examined the social situation, he has assessed it to the best of his knowledge and has made the language choice that the situation demands of him. Whereas this is also true to some extent of the monolingual, the latter only makes stylistic decisions and does not cross language boundaries nor does he have to engage into the unusual strategy of mixing two languages with varying proportions of representation where each resulting mixture opens up new socially significant communicative experiences. The choice between the languages that is, the selection of one variety over the other, thus takes on a significance that the

utilization of the only linguistic medium that the indivdual possesses, lacks. To choose a variety then implies that cues of psychological or sociological nature have consciously or unconsciously been identified and that a linguistic decision has been made to attend to precisely those cues. It is here assumed that by collecting speech data from bilinguals who interact with other bilinguals and live in a bilingual community where they have acquired the interactional norms that we have discussed above, we are able to identify the cues that trigger the shifting from one to the other language. In other words, we would like to think that a bilingual as he switches from, say, English to Spanish or viceversa has a reason for doing so and that these reasons can be considered psycholinguistic or sociolinguistic cues present either in the bilingual himself or in the bilingual's environment and are reacted to by him as he engages in making the decision or decisions which languages variety to use in each instance.

The project that has been described in the present study is based on the above assumption and it is the author's contention that the data collected do indeed reveal why the code-switching occurs in the first place and what social significance the language alternation holds for each participant in the speech event.

2. The Description of the Project

Five graduate students from the University of Texas at San Antonio have assisted the author in conducting the present research whose

objective has been to investigate the code-switching practices among several Mexican-American bilinguals in San Antonio. After learning how to elicit the data, the students recorded a series of conversations of Mexican-Americans from different socio-economic levels, persons with whom they have been acquainted previously, so that it could be expected that the informants would engage in an informal conversation with them and alternate between their two languages as this is normal under such circumstances. The author gratefully acknowledges the efforts made by the participating students Eduardo Canales, Viola Cavallini, Carolina Longoria, Felix Martinez and William Reneau who produced some excellent recordings and transcribed the most meaningful passages of the recorded conversations. These transcriptions made up the corpus of some 75 pages of code-switching dialogs on which the following analysis is based.

The fieldworkers set up individually the various interviews or sessions, the number of which depended, to some extent at least, on the former's success in promoting an informal and relaxed atmosphere that might favor code-switching practices. The total recorded time amounted to 690 minutes of speech but not everything on the tapes was actually transcribed but only those portions of the dialogs that contained language mixing, the utterance before and the utterance after; altogether, some three or four lines of verbal interchange.

To ensure the informality of the situation, the fieldworkers only interviewed persons whom they knew well and conducted the sessions in such a way that the least attention would be placed on the ways of

speaking. Mr. Canales, for example, accepted a dinner invitation at the home of a family of six and Mr. Martinez, in turn, invited a married couple that he had known for some time to his house. Mr. Reneau sat down with his janitor friend for a talk in the cafeteria and the other fieldworkers, too, selected places for their interviews that were appropriate for creating a relaxed atmosphere. All these settings confirmed the author's assumption that the greater the informality of person or setting, the more the language alternation. As a result, very valuable data have been gathered and these, in turn, have produced very interesting findings.

Some information on the fieldworkers and the informants may now be in order. The following biographical sketches describe the fieldworkers' personal and educational-professional background and the table below summarizes the information that has been gathered on those who agreed to serve as informants:

Fieldworkers

(a) EDUARDO CANALES was born in Benavides, Texas in 1937. His first language was Spanish but he learned English in school. He is now a balanced bilingual but slightly more dominant in English. Mr. Canales served in the United States Army for several years. He obtained his Bachelor of Science in Secondary Education with concentrations in Health and Physical Education and in Social Studies. He has thirteen years of teaching experience ranging from Headstart to High School and is presently working toward a Master of Arts degree in Bicultural-Bilingual Studies with concentration in Bicultural Studies. His present yearly salary exceeds $10,000.

(b) VIOLA CAVALLINI was born in San Antonio in 1928. Her first language was Spanish but she is a perfectly balanced bilingual by now. She obtained her Bachelor of Arts in Elementary Education from Incarnate Word College in San Antonio. At present she is seeking the Master of Arts degree in Bicultural Bilingual Studies with concentration in Bilingual Teacher Education. She is a second grade bilingual teacher but she also taught third and fifth grade in the past. For several years she served as grade chairman and for the last four years she has been the bilingual team leader in her school. As a supervising teacher she works with student teachers seeking the bilingual endorsement. Furthermore, she is currently chairperson of the Bilingual Curriculum Advisory Committee for her School District and in this capacity she helped develop, this past summer, the objectives for the Language Arts strand of the District's bilingual program. Her and her husband's combined income exceeds $20,000.

(c) CAROLINA LONGORIA was born of Mexican and Spanish parents in New Mexico during the depression years. Her first language was Spanish and she did not know any English before she entered first grade. She is now a balanced bilingual but slightly more dominant in Spanish. She received her Bachelor of Science degree in Elementary Education and is now working toward her Master of Arts degree in Bicultural Bilingual Studies with concentration in Bilingual Teacher Education. Mrs. Longoria has taught elementary school for seventeen years and of these, seven years in bilingual programs. She is currently teaching the Oral Language strand in a Title VII Bilingual Program. Her students are kindergarten and first grade children. She admits that she feels more comfortable when she can use English with her superiors but she speaks a great deal of Spanish with her close friends and the people from the barrio with whom she works. Her and her husband's combined income exceeds $25,000.

(d) FELIX MARTINEZ was born in San Antonio in 1949. He attended Catholic elementary and secondary schools in San Antonio and also, for two years, St. Edward's University in Austin where he was enrolled in the Pre-Med program of that College.

Later, he transferred to Trinity University where he graduated obtaining a Bachelor of Arts degree in History and Spanish. He holds a provisional secondary teaching certificate and is now teaching American History in a Catholic High School in San Antonio. He is also working toward his Master of Arts degree in Bicultural-Bilingual Studies with concentration in Bicultural Studies. Mr. Martinez is a balanced bilingual, although he thinks of himself as being English-dominant.

(e) WILLIAM RENAU was born in South Dakota in 1930. His first language was English but he learned Spanish well and is now a bilingual. He is however English-dominant. He obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree and has just completed the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in Bicultural-Bilingual Studies with concentration in Bilingual Teacher Education. He was formerly employed by the Government where he worked in communications for many years. He retired from his Government job in order to teach and do graduate work at the University of Texas at San San Antonio. He is now teaching in a South San Antonio elementary school where he has become proficient in bilingual teaching techniques. His income exceeds $10,000.

Informants

To conclude, the fieldworkers interviewed a total of thirty-three male and female informants ranging in age from small school children to elderly persons with diverse educational and socio-economic backgrounds. At this early stage of the project the variables age, sex, education and socio-economic level have not been controlled. In a future project, these variables should be controlled and this may then shed some light on the relative frequency with which the bilingual engages in code-switching and on the predictability of this kind of language behavior.

FIELDWORKER	INFORMANTS						
	Code/family role	Sex	Age	Place of Birth	Education	Occupation	S.E. Status
Canales	A-1 (Father)	m	65	Zapata, Tx.	Laredo H.S.	Kelly A.F.B. Technician	15,000+
	A-2 (Mother)	f	58	El Encino, Tx.	Laredo H.S. incomplete	Housewife	N/A
	A-3 (Son married)	m	25	San Antonio, Tx.	B.S. Sec. Ed.	Math teacher	10,000
	A-4 (Daughter-in-law)	f	21	San Antonio, Tx.	H.S.	Housewife	N/A
	A-5 (Son single)	m	21	San Antonio, Tx.	H.S.	Asst. Manage Shoe Store	7,500+
	A-6 (Daughter)	f	12	San Antonio, Tx.	Jr. H.S.	Student	N/A
	B N/A	m	37	Starr County	B.A. El. Eng .	Engineer	Middle class
Cavallini	C N/A	f	41	Fowlerton, Tx.	Jr. H.S.	Beautician	5,000
	D N/A	f	48	Chicago Hts, Ill. (mother: valley; father: Spain)	H.S.	Hair stylist	7,000
	E N/A	m	29	San Antonio	B.S. Ed.	Teacher	10,000
	F N/A	m	25	Plainview, Tx.	B.A. Ed.	Teacher	10,000
	G N/A	f	24	Karnes City, Tx.	B.S. Ed.	Teacher	7,500
	H N/A	f	26	Pearsall, Tx.	B.S. Ed.	Teacher	7,500
	I N/A	f	44	Laredo, Tx.	M.A. Ed.	Counselor	20,000+
	J N/A	f	67	Alice, Tx.	Jr. H.S.	Housewife	7,500
	K N/A	f	45	Oilton, Tx.	H.S.	Aide	20,000
	L N/A	f	37	Von Army, Tx.	H.S.	Aide	20,000
	M N/A	m	36	Los Indios, Tx.	H.S.	Custodian	5,000
	N N/A	m	43	San Antonio, Tx.	Jr. H.S.	Custodian	5,000

FIELDWORKER	INFORMANTS							
	Code/Family role if any			Age	Place of Birth	Education	Occupation	S.E. Status
Cavallini	O	N/A	F	40+	Floresville, Tx.	H.S.+	School secretary	12,500+
Longoria	P	N/A	f	7	San Antonio, Tx.	Gr. 1	Student	N/A 5,000
	Q	N/A	m	7	San Antonio, Tx.	Gr. 1	Student	N/A 3,000
	R	N/A	m	7	San Antonio, Tx.	Gr. 1	Student	N/A 3,000
	S	N/A	f	10	Mexico	Gr. 5	Student	N/A 3,000
	T	N/A	f	11	San Antonio, Tx.	Gr. 6	Student	N/A 3,000
	U	N/A	f	40+	Hidalgo, Tx.	H.S.	Aide	10,000+
	V	N/A	f	40+	San Antonio, Tx.	H.S.	Aide	10,000+
	W	N/A	f	40+	Lockhart, Tx.	OLL, M.A.	Counselor	25,000+
	X	N/A	f	40+	San Antonio, Tx.	Jr. College	Subst. Teacher	Middle class 15,000
	Y	N/A	f	39	San Antonio, Tx.	H.S.+	Secretary Aide	Lower Middle class 14,000
Martinez	Z	N/A	f	35	Laredo/S.A., Tx.	B.S. Nursing	R.N.	10,000
	AA	N/A	m	36	Monterrey	St. Mary's U. M.A.	Therapist	15,000+
Reneau	BB	N/A	m	31	Charlotte, Tx.	Elem.	Janitor	6,000

3. The Interpretation of the Data

The linguistic perspective

We have suggested above (see p.6) that the embedding of a constituent sentence into a matrix sentence and the embedding of a stretch of speech in language B into a stretch of speech in language A bear some mutual relationship. Hence, I will refer in this section to the switching of codes as code-embedding and call the stretch of speech into which other-language material is inserted the matrix code and the stretch of speech that is embedded, the constituent code. Either one of the two languages can supply matrix and constituent codes depending upon the speaker's intent to choose, say, an English or a Spanish frame for his utterance. Consider the following two lines of a conversation between an interviewer and his informant:

(28) EC: Todavía está allá en University City?

Mother: No, pero they're going to move him to Windsor...(EC-6.13)

The mother responds to the question by beginning her response in Spanish but embeds into the Spanish matrix code the English constituent code "they are going to move him to Windsor...," which is a clause all by itself. However, note:

(29) Lisa: ...It's been criticized by Mexicanos of the other side, very, very much because they don't understand it, they can't feel it. If I'm talking to you en español, puro español toda la frase, y de repente...(FM-6.15-19)

The whole thought process is in English, it is what we may call an English frame but, for reasons that are irrelevant in this linguistic section, the informant switches to Spanish to complete the utterance. Obviously, it is an example of an English matrix code into which a Spanish constituent code is embedded. The transition occurs at a point where the English construction is reasonably complete, grammatically speaking, since the subject, the verb and the object are fully expressed but to complete the message, the speaker is adding a prepositional phrase and does it in Spanish without interfering with the grammaticality of the English portion of the utterance. Observe, the informant did not say,

(30a) If I'm talking to Ud. en español nor

(30b) If I'm talking to you in español

but switched when it was grammatically least offensive in both languages. Occasional violations of grammatical constraints however occurred in the recordings but were seldom, e.g.,

(31) ...ya sabía que eran dos, three cans for each machine (R-2.2-3)

(32) ...for example you are the first maestro que tenga cargado [!] ..(R-2.34)

(33) Este group se levantan [!], wait, va; that way you have... (R-2.17)

The speaker switches here within the grammatical unit, i.e. the phrase, but still without seriously offending the listener's linguistic competence as the literal translation of the word in the constituent code renders a unilingual utterance that is grammatically sound.

Note that

...ya sabía que eran dos, tres latas para cada maquina;

...por ejemplo Ud. es el primer maestro que tenga cargado...[!]

...This group stands up, waits, goes; that way you have...

do not reflect grammatical violations and since they are unusual occurrences, they do not really invalidate the author's view that alternations normally occur at the beginning of a constituent, thus, to prevent the code-switching from violating a grammatical rule of any one of the two languages. Clause-level and phrase-level switches, when they are not borrowings, are limited to adverbs, conjunctions or sentence modifiers (see above). A study with greater emphasis on the purely linguistic perspective of the phenomenon should investigate, in greater detail, which constructions from the two languages can or cannot cooccur in the sentence. On the other hand, these tentative interpretations of the collected data seem to suggest that there are serious constraints when the code alternation involves the violation of a rule in one of the codes. Therefore, Gringas' example that was rejected by the Mexican-American bilingual informants,

(34) El man que came ayer wants John comprar a car nuevo
(Bills, 1974:170)

could not have occurred as too many grammatical rules are here violated. The framehere is obviously English, since it is only in English that we can say "...wants John to buy..., whereas in Spanish it would be ...quería que Juan comprara... As a result, ...wants John comprar...represents a major violation of Spanish grammar. The same may be said about --a car nuevo--- which violates the English adjective positioning rule since an adjective must precede the noun in English. Future studies, it is hoped, will show in

greater detail where the boundary between acceptable and unacceptable code-switching utterances lies. A study of this nature would contribute meaningfully to the writing of a Spanish-English code-switching grammer.

The Psycho-sociolinguistic perspective

In the preceding section the author only touched briefly upon the purely linguistic analysis of utterances containing elements of two languages, since this is not the major thrust of the paper. An analysis of this nature, however, suggests itself as a pressing topic of investigation but would go beyond the scope of this project and is therefore not treated here more exhaustively. In the present section the author intends to consider codeswitching, not from the viewpoint of linguistic competence, but of linguistic performance and consider it first with psycholinguistic and then with sociolinguistic factors in mind. In other words, the question here is not what grammatical rules can be identified to account for sentences with constituents from two languages, but rather why the codeswitching occurs in the first place and which factors or variables make the individual switch from language A to language B or viceversa. It is my contention that the switching from one to the other language is not a random behavior but can be explained as a reflex of psychological and sociological factors of which the speaker may or may not be aware. As a matter of fact, the younger and the less educated the speaker is, the less he seems to be aware of the fact that he has made the transition to the other language within the same sentence. Regardless of whether or not the person is aware of switching or the

factors, leading to the switching, these factors must be identified by the researcher as he examines the speech samples of bilinguals who engage in code-switching strategies. Whether psychologically conditioned, these factors are actually cues that trigger language alternation and future research should show the potency of each cue and the conditions under which one cue weakens or even annuls the effect of another. Even this somewhat preliminary research has already shown that several psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic categories and subcategories must be postulated if we wish to come to grips with the nature of codeswitching. More specifically, the analysis of the data has supported, first [illegible]1, the fact that not all language mixing can be considered true instances of codeswitching (cf, above, p.3). We have already previously argued that the borrowing of a word from the other language, regardless of whether or not it has been integrated into the receiving language phonlogically or morphologically (borrowing/pochismo), is not an instance of codeswitching nor are loan translations (calque) and words that are merely at the tip of the speaker's tongue. In the latter, the speaker has merely relexified portions of his utterances but without switching to the grammatical system of the second code (easy access). All these instances are best referred to as semi-codeswitching (see Table 1, A. 1-4) and include four subcategories, i.e., (a) borrowing (b) terminology (c) calque and (d) access. A few examples may here be in order:

TABLE 1: Toward A Theory Of Codeswitching

A. Semi-Codeswitching	B. Psychologically Conditioned Codeswitching	C. Sociologically Conditioned Codeswitching
1. BORROWING	1. SUBSTRATUM	1. CODE
2. TERMINOLOGY	2. EMOTION	2. DOMAIN
3. CALQUE	3. HESITATION	3. CULTURE
4. ACCESS	4. FALSE START	4. INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS
	5. PREFERENCE	5. TOPIC
		6. METAPHOR

(35)...en donde pasa el expressway? (EC-1.12)

(36)...¿pa' lonche o que? (EC-3.16)

(37)...eh, bilingual education en otras palabras. (VC-9.16-17)

(38)...I think it is cold right now, ¿no? (EC-5.11-12)

(39)...No, pos yo estaba undecided (EC-15-.19)

Items (35) and (36) are instances of borrowing, the former without phonological integration into the receiving language and the latter with it. (37) contains a technical term, bilingual education, which is used in the language in which the term is heard most frequently. The occurrence of no? in (39) rather than isn't it? is remindful of the Spanish ¿no?, a short form of ¿no es cierto? and is therefore classified as a calque or a loan translation. Undecided and not indecisa (39) was at the tip of the informant's tongue. Had she made a stronger effort, she would probably have come up with the Spanish word but in an informal, relaxed situation, there was no apparent need for it and she picked the word to which she had easier access.

From the category of "Semi-Codeswitching," on the other hand, are distinguished two other categories, truly codeswitching in nature, i.e. (1) "Psychologically Conditioned Codeswitching" and (2) "Sociologically Conditioned Codeswitching" each of which falls again into several subcategories. Table 1 gives the reader the overview of the three major categories and their various sub-

categories, fifteen all together, that account for the language mixing occurrences identified in this project. "Semi-Codeswitching" and its subcategories have already been considered briefly above (cf.pp.29,31). The rest of this section shall therefore by devoted to the discussion of the true codeswitching sources, specified under B and C on Table 1 (cf. p. 30). Some of these sources (B) can be said to be psychologically and the others (C), sociologically conditioned. The former are results of individual encoding strategies, that is, they are psycholinguistically conditioned phenomena. The latter reflect responses to certain cues in the social environment, that is, they are sociolinguistically conditioned phenomena.

"Psychologically Conditioned Codeswitching" encompasses five subcategories of which ample evidence has been found in the recordings. Note:

(40a)-And I tell you another thing que I'd shoot anybody...(FM-1.14)

(40b)-Te vas even con este así...(Vc-7.12)

(40c)-Entonces, now that, to me, is kind of...(FM-7.9)

Although the speaker's intent is to speak language B, words or phrases from Language A surface unwillingly as a result of the speaker's language dominance. (40a) and (40c) are instances where a Spanish conjunction or a sentence modifier surface; in (40b) it is an English adverb that emerges. As a matter of fact, it is conjunctions, adverbs and sentence modifiers which reveal this unintentional surfacing of the SUBSTRATUM (B-1).

William Labov (Labov, 1972: 208) has shown that the speaker who is embarassed or otherwise emotionally involved in the speech situation pays minimum attention to his speech. Our recordings support his

findings as the speakers code-switched to their stronger language when the topic touched upon emotional issues and switched back to the other language as the conversation returned to more general matters. Observe:

(41a) - Agárrelo con la mano. Lo que guste.

-I just wanted...Anda, ahí está. (EC-4.19-20)

(41b) - I lose my temper porque a mí me da mucho coraje,

(FM-1.15-16)

In (41a), the English-dominant field worker switches unwillingly to English to express his embarrassment but returns to Spanish when he has mastered the situation. The contrary occurs in (41b) where the Spanish-dominant speaker codeswitches to Spanish to express her indignation more fully. Thus, EMOTION (B-2) appears to be a valid subcategory to reveal one of the speakers' inner cues that are capable of triggering the switch from the weaker to the stronger language.

Hesitation pauses are common among speakers of all languages as the individual grasps for the appropriate word or words to complete his utterance. Speakers, however, differ in the way how they fill these pauses, e.g.,

(42) - And, uh, I've gone out to North Texas... (VC-5.21)

(43) - ...she would tell me things--este--you know. (FM-5.11)

The English-dominant bilingual usually uses the English-speaking monolingual's hesitation vowel 'uh' /ə/, whereas the Spanish-dominant person instinctively inserts the Spanish-speaking monolingual's 'este' /este/. Thus HESITATION (B-3) appears as an informative reflex of language dominance.

On the other hand, the speaker who makes a false start in one language often attempts to recast the message in the other language to communicate more effectively and then switches back to the language that had been chosen as a medium of communication in the first place. FALSE START (B-4) as a codeswitching source is found in the following two utterances:

(44) - Si, pos tienen ahí hasta unas--I hadn't...I never even seen some of those. (EC-25.11-12)

(45) - It takes--es más despacio la manera esa. (EC-25.11-12)

Obviously, (44) illustrates the situation in which a bilingual starts out in Spanish but fails to get the message across in the language that he chose. He therefore shifts to English and completes his utterance successfully. (45) illustrates the reverse: the speaker shifts from English to Spanish for greater ease of communication.

In some instances, however, no obvious psychological source could be identified. The codeswitching seemed to be the result of the speaker's preference of one code over the other. When the informant responds in English to a Spanish utterance as in

(46) - una cortina nada más

- What you need is the strip...(R-1.16-17)

or when he speaks in Spanish after he is addressed in English as in

(47) See you all later

-¿Adónde? Oyes, X, ven para acá, hijito. (EC-5.14-15)

both seem to suggest that the respondent merely felt more inclined toward using a language other than the one in which he was addressed. Unless

future data suggest a different interpretation, PREFERENCE (B-5) seems to describe effectively those instances that cannot be classified according to the previously suggested psychologically conditioned code-switching subcategories.

"Sociologically Conditioned Codeswitching" is the other major code-switching category that was found to encompass six minor categories, say, subcategories which, because of their complexities, had to be subdivided into even smaller units in order for the researcher to interpret the available data more effectively. Figure I provides the reader with the complete listing of all subcategories and subsubcategories of the "Sociologically--or rather sociolinguistically--Conditioned Codeswitching" category. Because of the limitation in space not each subcategory can be dealt with exhaustively but the most significant ones have been chosen to justify this kind of analysis.

CODE (C-1) as a codeswitching source implies the notion that certain decisions concerning language choice depend entirely upon language matters, such as those specified in the outline (a-g). These decisions include (a) in which language one should initiate a response; (b) whether or not one should continue speech in the same code; (c) in which language one should discuss a matter that he has heard before, (d) in which language one should argue a point that regards either one or the other language (e) whether or not one should quote in the language in which a conversation went on originally; (f) whether or not one should switch to the language in which an argument was advanced (g) whether or not one should alternate languages because his interlocutor seemed not to have understood and finally (h) whether or not the existence of a precoined utterance like a proverb or a metaphor warrants the language switch. The following data seem to support the validity of most of the preceding queries:

Sociologically Conditioned Codeswitching

1. CODE
   - (a) Initiation of response
   - (b) Continued speech (after switching)
   - (c) Prior code use
   - (d) Code as topic
   - (e) Quote
   - (f) Clarification
   - (g) Pre-coining
2. DOMAIN
   - (a) Home/Family
   - (b) Church
   - (c) Employment
   - (d) School
   - (e) Business
3. CULTURE
   - (a) Geographic/ecological environment
   - (b) Culture-conditioned attitude
   - (c) Language-locale association
   - (d) Cultural bias
   - (e) Cultural heritage
   - (f) Persons as cultural exponents
   - (g) Social/political institution
   - (h) Language as culture
   - (i) Culture-related custom

4. INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS
   - (a) Siblings
   - (b) Spouses
   - (c) Peers
   - (d) Acquaintances
   - (e) Employer-employee
   - (f) Teacher-student

5. TOPIC
   - (a) Occupation
   - (b) Financial matters
   - (c) Mechanical interests
   - (d) Food
   - (e) Numerical details
   - (f) Time-related experiences

6. METAPHOR
   - (a) Contrast
   - (b) Emphasis
   - (c) Humor [no data available]
   - (d) Parenthetical remarks

Figure 1

(48) - ...I wished they'd come more often!

-You ought to get on the phone [speaker initiates response in the language in which he was addressed but switches later]--y dijo mamá que vinieran a visitar, ¿ves? (EC-3.20-23)

(49) - Every time we go out, I bless it before we go out y todo. [Speaker has switched to Spanish for a reason other than the one under consideration here and now decides to continue using the code to which he has just switched] Pero ser precabida[3]--

(50) - And, uh, I've gone out to North Texas [speaker intends to discuss an experience that is normally discussed in Spanish and switches therefore to that language] a levantar el pepino (VC-5.21)

(51) - Ah, no--it's not a sound problem, it's more of a... like...[speaker hesitates because it makes little sense to talk about Spanish in English and switches to Spanish therefore] como donde acentúa uno la palabra (VC-12.9-10)

(52) - [Speaker quotes on English-speaking monolingual] "How long have you been here?" [He switches to Spanish because it is the language in which the conversation is carried on but switches back to English later on when he quotes himself responding in English] Pos le decía "twenty-nine, thirty years." (EC-10.1-2)

(53) - ...pero the whole thing is that.../speaker recalls a Spanish saying and switches therefore/ como dicen diferentes paises, diferentes costumbres. /To continue, speaker switches back to English/ She was born over there, I was born over here. (FM-9.11-13)

DOMAIN (C-2), another language switch triggering factor, has been recognized throughout the study as a valid construct and our data are supporting the findings of Greenfield and Fishman (Ghosh, 1972: 64-86) and others who sustain that home or family, neighborhood, church, employment and school all evoke in the speaker very definite language patterns such that the violation of these patterns creates extremely incongruent situations. On the basis of our data, we have succeeded in isolating five domains, i.e., (a) Home/Family, (b) Church, (c) Employment, (d) School and (e) Business. Neighborhood did not emerge as a separate domain from home/family which may be the result of the scarcity of the data rather than the lack of validity of the domain in question. Note the following codeswitching instances in our transcriptions:

(54) - ...since he has been here fifty years pero mis hermanos no hablan el Español también como yo because... (FM-7.21-23)

(55) - X quería "tie" ¿Te acuerdas? He wants a tie, coat.
- ¿A la iglesia? (EC - 7.9-11)

(56) - ¿No?
- Si. He is going to be training for a manager right now. (EC-6.7-9)

(57) - No, pos a mí también me traen de una ala. I got an exam Wednesday night and I got to correct some papers for my American History classes... (EC-24.17-20)

(58) - Ah, hijo, me están haciendo garras, "cousin." Insurance. Oye y those guys are going to raise the rates, ¿verdad? (EC-23.10-11)

The Home/Family domain triggers the switch to Spanish (54), whereas Employment (56), School (57) and Business (58) work the opposite way, that is, they favor the switch to English. The Church domain (55) is as contradictory in the Mexican-American sample as it is in other studies (Ghosh, 1972: 64-86). Formal dressing (tie, coat) seems to suggest the population or parishioners at large--hence, English--the parish itself (iglesia) stresses church as a Mexican institution--hence, Spanish.

A person's code is obviously part and parcel of his culture; however, certain cultural facts are not CODE-related, so that it seemed to make sense to postulate CULTURE (C-3) as a separate codeswitch triggering element. In other words, if a speaker wishes to comment upon an issue that is more closely related to culture A, he is prone to switch to the language that the members associated with that culture normally speak. Observe the following examples:

(59) - It was the day you went al parque. (R-16)

(60) - En México si un three or four year old,--you have them "recitando." (FM-12.10-11)

(61) - Ándale, that's probably the best bet. (EC-22.5)

(62) - Oh yeah, uh-huh, hasta allí si. (VC-4.5)

(63) - I went only for one sole reason to Mexico: porque no me contaran como era. I went when I was twenty a la capital. (FM-9.22-23)

(64) - Well, you do a lot of P.R., cuando vienen las mamases, muy bien, tienes que calmarlas. (VC-1.3-5)

(65) - Ah, bueno, como estás grabando,--I'll take the fifth amendment on that one. (VC - 1.12-13)

(66) - Boy, let me tell you that girl Thursday at the "bonco" tenía tripitas, carne de puerco con pozole...(FM-11.10-14)

Al parque (59) rather than "to the park" suggests a location in the Spanish-speaking barrio or San Antonio downtown area. By the same token, en México and not "in Mexico" is the appropriate way of talking about the ancestral country. Similar to language dominance, we can also talk about culture dominance, such that the Spanish culture dominant person tends to choose ethnic markers like ándale (61) and the Anglo culture dominant one prefers non-ethnic, that is, mainstream markers like oh, yeah (62). Mexican heritage is argued more meaningfully in Spanish; hence, porque no me contaran como era (63) describes more effectively the desire of a Mexican-American to experience life in Mexico than would, say, "so that others would not have to tell me about it." Likewise, to refer to Mexico-City as la capital implies greater solidarity with things Mexican than would "la Ciudad de México" or just "Mexico-City. Las mamases (64) are not just mothers of any children but Mexican-American mothers who,in their majority, are Spanish-speaking monolinguals. Even though the person is talking in

Spanish, he could hardly refer to the fifth amendment (65) as "la quinta enmienda" and capture at the same time the political significance of what this American legal concept stands for. Finally, talking about what some Mexican-Americans call the bonco and referring to the Mexican dishes that were served there can be done in no language other than Spanish because how else would you refer to tripitas, carne de puerco and pozole (66)?

Speakers tend to adjust style and lexicon depending upon the person or persons whom they address, the topics that they select and other elements of the social situation. It is not surprising, therefore, that bilinguals switch from one to the other language to comply with these norms of social interaction. Our data have shown that this is particularly the case when there is a change of interlocutors. Thus, INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS(C-4) often determine whether English or Spanish is appropriate regardless of which language is spoken at a given point in time. This becomes particularly noticeable when a different person is suddenly addressed during the same speech event. Furthermore, not only talking to but talking about certain persons with whom one but not the other language is normally associated may determine the language choice.

(67) - [one sibling to the other] X, get it.

- [mother to interviewer] Es pa' él. A estas horas, es pa' él. (EC-3.1-3)

(68) - [to mother] Con la misma chaqueta por cuatro años.

[mother to daughter] ¿Quién?

[wife [daughter] to husband] You are the one wearing the same jacket. (EC-7.19-21)

(69) - [daughter to interviewer] You know what likes the meat most of all? My chin.

- [interviewer to daughter] Mis barbas.

- [daughter to mother] ¿Cómo está tio Eloy ahorita, 'amá? (EC-3.7-9)

(70) - [about Spanish-speaking monolinguals] And now we take some of J.T. up to Grenet[5] pero las mamases no quieren que vengan los niños aquí,---so it's a privilege... (VC3.27-4.2)

(71) - [about an English speaking monolingual] And when you are talking to Mrs. Green or...; do you feel uncomfortable with her?

- Uh-huh

- Because it has to be all English. (VC-11.18-21)

Items (67-69) illustrate the switch in code depending upon the participants in the speech event. Younger siblings will speak in English to one another (67) but the mother, a member of the older generation, prefers Spanish regardless of the person to whom she talks. The married daughter addresses her husband in English although she responds to a question by her mother in Spanish (68). A younger daughter addresses the interviewer in English--most likely, the language that they normally use in non-experimental situations--but when she addresses her mother she switches to Spanish. (69) Items (70-71), in turn, show that the notion of Interpersonal Relations can be expanded to include

the language switch that results from talking about a person or persons with whom we associate the use of a given language. Las mamases (70) only speak Spanish and Mrs. Green (71) allows only English, hence, each is treated in the language that they usually speak.

TOPIC (C-5) in a more general sense, that is, when it is not limited to interpersonal relations, is best treated independently from the above, since it includes too many topical areas. Topics like (a) occupation, (b) financial matters, (c) mechanical concerns (d) food, (e) numerical details and (f) various time-related experiences have all appeared to be important cues that trigger the use of one language and block that of the other. Note:

(72) - ... and I can relate to them, you know, about levantando la pera, levantando eso o trabajando en la cebolla...you know. (VC-6.10-11)

(73) - ...We started out with 900...about 950 kids
- ¿Y ahora?
-And we've got...'mm, what? 530... (VC-3.14-19)

(74) - It's gonna cost me por las placas three hundred.
- Bastantito.
- Y cobra como twelve dollars cada... (VC-8.5-7)

(75) - Pero estaba pensando about the maintenance. (EC-15.21)

(76) - Forty-two miles, fíjate.

(77) - Tengo el complejo de que la mamá mexicana siempre estaba "amase, amase" haciendo tortillas. Cuando me casé I promised myself I wouldn't. (FM-16.2-4)

Depending upon the nature of the occupation, Spanish or English may be the appropriate code to which the speaker switches. The former migrant worker refers to his duties in the language in which these duties were performed. "Picking up pears" and "working on the onion field" would not have been the same (72). The secretary of a school where English is the medium of instruction feels, in turn, more comfortable talking about her work in English, even though the fieldworker tried to make her switch to Spanish by asking her the question "¿Y ahora?" and not "And now?" (73). Money matters evoke English in the speech of bilinguals but may be limited to the portion(s) of the sentence that are strictly costrelated. Thus, It's gonna cost me and three hundred are in English but "por las placas" in Spanish (b). Mechanical matters, whether trade names, terms or merely applied notions, trigger the use of English. "Mantenimiento" would have produced an image different from maintenance (75) in the speaker who talks about his automobile within a broader supraethnic framework. Number, measurements and similar notions are mostly learned in the English-speaking school; hence, forty-two miles (76) is more acceptable than "cuarentidos millas," in particular because "kilometros" would in theory be the right term to use in Spanish but one that is somewhat unfamiliar to those who were reared outside the metrical system. Finally, the memory of the remote past evokes in our Mexican-American informant the use of the language that she only spoke at that time. She refers to la mamá mexicana in Spanish but switches to English as she refers to more recent times when she was already married and had become

more Anglo/English oriented (77).

METAPHOR (C-6) as a codeswitching category brings together, under the same heading, a series of stylistic devices that the bilingual employs quite differently from the monolingual as the switch from one to the other language plays there roughly the same role as do unusual intonation patterns, dialect variations or lexical oddities in the speech of those who know only one language. When the informant asks the interviewer (78) "¿Me aprobó[.] mi sopa?" (EC-5.1-2) and then switches to English saying "Ah, that's good and finally switches back to Spanish telling him that it was not a soup mix from a package, she merely intended to establish the contrast, by means of the language switch, between her homemade soup and a soup from a can or a package. Emphasis is often created by simply restating in the other language what has just been said in the first one, as in

(79) - ...ibamos allí siempre cada año-we went there every year. (VC-6.5-6)

There can be no question as to whether the addressee understood this simple message, so that it seems to be merely a strategy to underscore the English utterance by restating it word by word in Spanish.

Humor, is often, suggested as another instance of metaphorical switching (Hymes, 1974: 53,57) but no significant data were recorded that could serve as an illustration, although some codeswitching instances classified earlier might have been interpreted in this sense (cf. #(69)). Future data will hopefully

allow us to also support "humor" as one kind of metaphorical switching.

Certain parenthetical remarks, in turn, were accounted for quite regularly and should therefore be included here. Note:

(80) - Dice "Why is that?" Dice "because if you would stop snoring, then I would be able...(CL-15.18-19)

(81) - ...they got in at Dolores' parents with a --como se llaman estos fierros--wrench or something like that... (FM-1.1-3)

Upon reporting on a conversation that went on in English, the speaker is quoting and not translating (80) but the connecting speech is in Spanish, since it is the language in which the dialog is carried on. The instances of dice are thus inserted as if they were between parentheses to remind the interlocutors to which language they would eventually have to revert as soon as no more quotes in English occur in the conversation. A somewhat different type of parenthetical remark occurs in (81) where the speaker tries, as if it were an inner thought overtly expressed, to come up with the right form. The Spanish question ¿Cómo se llaman esos fierros? is in a sense off the record and does certainly not suggest that the speaker knew the word in Spanish and not in English as "fierros" is not the right word and "wrench" comes to the speaker's mind later in response to her inner thought question in Spanish.

4. Conclusion

It has been the objective of the present paper to examine a body of data collected by five graduate students at UTSA and to determine, after a careful analysis of the transcribed utterances (a) whether all instances of language alternations can be truly considered code-switching strategies and (b) whether those that can be so considered exhibit identifiable linguistic patterns and allow psychologically and sociologically sound interpretations. In light of the researcher's personal interest, the emphasis here has been placed on the psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives of the code-switching phenomenon.

The data seem to lend support to the author's assumption that in fact not all language alternations can be considered "code-switching strategies" proper if we distinguish between utterances containing relexification and others containing sentence constituents from two languages. The former have been called here semi-codeswitching: the latter, true code-switching. The analysis of the examples of true codeswitching have yielded some initial evidence that, from the viewpoint of competence, code-switching obeys certain rules of co-occurrence based upon the rules of grammar of the two languages involved in the sense that the code-switching is blocked if it requires the violation of a grammatical rule of either language. As far as linguistic performance is concerned, the author believes that he has succeeded in identifying a total of eleven variables, some psychologically but most of them sociologically conditioned, which seem to act as triggering forces favoring the language alternation. It has

not been suggested that the presence of one or more of these variables always produces code-switching, in other words they have no predictive qualities, but only that wherever code-switching occurs it can be traced back to such variables.

Regardless of the tentative findings that are being described here, it has become clear to the researcher and his fieldworkers that some utterances produced by Mexican-American bilinguals reveal the resources of the two languages but can only be observed when the social situation is appropriate, that is, when the interlocutors share a high degree of informality and relaxation. The sentences so encoded reveal a grammar of their own and do not reflect the speaker's ignorance of both languages as has often been suggested. Since this mixed dialect occurs however only in certain social situations, it seems appropriate to define it as a social dialect used by those who do not only share the same code but also similar ethnic, cultural and environmental characteristics.

NOTES

*This paper is a revised and expanded version of the paper of the same title delivered at the annual meeting of the South Central Modern Language Association, Session of the South Central American Dialect Society, Dallas, Texas, October 29, 1976.

[1] I am here treating mixtea as a English word although the source mix has already been incorporated into Spanish by following Spanish suffixation rules.

[2] Those interested in a more exhaustive treatment of all the code-switching data are urged to look forward to the publication of book-length study by the author of Spanish-English codeswitching to appear in the near future.

[3] The use of Spanish could also be justified in terms of a pre-coined utterance, i.e., ser precabida vale por dos.

[4] Here, the use of Spanish could also result from the fact that migrant work is culturally restricted to the Mexican-American and thus evokes Spanish language use.

[5] J. T. and Grenet are names of San Antonio elementary schools.

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